24: Jenness--89 (No date) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 177

"In the number of the American Anthropoligist for July-September, 1921, Mr. Cadzow requested a little more information concerning my criticisms of some of the Copper Eskimo specimens he collected at Fort Norman in 1919 and illustrated in his paper 'Native Copper Objects of the Copper Eskimo' (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1920). He questions the statement that 'for nearly twenty years the Copper Eskimos have been in almost continuous contact with the white man.' If he will refer to Chapter II of my book 'The Life of the Copper Eskimo,' just published as Vol. XII of the Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, or to my article 'The Cultural Transformation of the Copper Eskimos' in the Geographical Review, Vol. XI October 1921, pp. 543-545, he will find that from 1902 until the present time, when David Hanbury visited the country, the only years in which the Copper Eskimos did not come into contact with white men were 1903-5 and 1907, only four years. Moreover this does not take into account the visits of earlier explorers in the nineteenth century, Franklin in 1821, Dease and Simpson in 1839, Richardson in 1848, Rae from 1848 to 1850, McClure in 1851, and Collinson from 1851 to 1853."

24: Jenness--89-90 (No date)1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 177

"Mr. Cadzow enquires further where these Eskimos found a market for copper objects they were manufacturing for sale in Coronation Gulf in 1911. Their market was with Captain Joseph F. Bernard, of the schooner Teddy Bear, who sailed into Coronation Gulf in the summer of 1910, just after Mr. Stefánsson's hurried sled trip along the coast. Captain Bernard spent three years among the Copper Eskimos at this time, 1910-11 and 1912-14, trading extensively for furs and ethnological specimens. In the spring of 1911 his schooner, which had wintered at the mouth of the Kugaryuak River about 18 miles east of the Coppermine, was visited by Mr. Stefánsson and Dr. R.M. Anderson. Near the vessel was camped a band of Eskimos, many of whom were manufacturing copper implements [90] for sale. Dr. Anderson actually observed some of the stages in the manufacture of the copper tomahawk I mentioned. Not being a genuine article, but modelled after the Hudson's Bay Company's type commonly used by the northern Indians, he refused to buy it from its maker."

24: Jenness--90 (No date) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 177, 326, 411

"Even before the time of Captain Bernard's visit the Copper Eskimos had acquired a considerable amount of iron, but his extensive trading resulted in total disuse of copper for harpoons and knives, although it persisted a little longer in arrows and in the implements employed in fishing. My scouring of Dolphin and Union Strait and Coronation Gulf between 1914 and 1916 resulted in the finding of only one genuine harpoon with a copper point, one copper snow-knife, and three women's knives of copper; even these were no longer used by their owners. Between 1916 and 1920 Captain Bernard, on his second visit, was able to secure about half a dozen more from the eastern end of Coronation Gulf and from Dease Strait. By 1920, Captain Bernard informs me, bows and arrows had disappeared, and the natives had ceased to use copper at all except for rivets and the manufacture of specimens for sale."

24: Jenness--90-91 (No date) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 177, 411

"The Eskimos of the Coppermine River region were affected by this intercourse earlier than any other group from 1908 onwards, since they were able to trade with white men at Great Bear Lake. I spent several weeks among them between 1914 and 1916 without finding a single copper knife or harpoon that had been in genuine use. From 1916 onwards Captain Bernard purchased every bow and arrow set and every copper implement that he could find, except those expressly manufactured for sale. During the same period the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, which has several posts in the country, the Anglican missionaries, and the members of the Royal North West Mounted Police were ransacking the territory for the few 'curios' that remained. It is very improbable, therefore, to say the least, that a family of natives from the vicinity of the Coppermine River should have retained a full supply of copper implements down to 1919, or that they should have carried them inland as far as Fort Norman (especially their sealing gear, which is always left on the coast), unless these articles had been manufactured for sale. We may take it for granted that the majority of Mr. Cadzow's specimens were so manufactured. Now an article made expressly for sale may be as valuable ethnologically as one that has been in genuine use for years. The danger is that the native [91] is very apt to depart from the old types and introduce new patterns and materials in oder to secure a higher price from his customers. I asserted that this

had actually occured in one of Mr. Cadzow's specimens, the knife figured in Plate Va, and probably in a second, the harpoon of Plate IXd."

24: Jenness--91 (No date) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 177, 391, 411

'Mr. Cadzow now draws my attention to the copper-bladed knife illustrated in 'The Stefánsson-Anderson Arctic Expedition,' Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XIV, fig. 46, and points out its resemblance to his own specimen. He will find several more examples of the same type in the Victoria Memorial Museum at Ottawa, and probably elsewhere as well. Their history is as follows. The Eskimos who traded with Captain Bernard were manufacturing implements for sale as early as 1911, for example non-clasping copper pen-knives, large curved knives like our butchers' knives with only one edge (their own copper knives were always two-edged), and the type of copper knife figured by Mr. Stefánsson and Mr. Cadzow. Captain Bernard was too conscientious a collector to encourage the industry, and the natives brought me many specimens that he had refused to buy, confessing that they had been manufactured for sale and were not native to their own culture. The uselessness of these knives was shown by the fact that they were never employed by their owners except in an emergency. Mr. Stefánsson evidently obtained his specimen in 1911 from a native who had come under the influence of the new trade."

24: Jenness--91-92 (No date) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 411

"In regard to the question as to whether the sealing harpoons ever had copper shanks or foreshafts Mr. Cadzow refers me to Mr. Stefánsson's statement that the Kanghiryuarmiut of Prince Albert Sound use copper for 'long-bladed hunting knives, the ordinary half-moon shaped woman's knives, crooked knives for whittling purposes, copper rods for the foreshafts of seal harpoons. . .' I was already aware of Mr. Stefánsson's statement, but considered that in making his enumeration of all the various uses of copper his memory had failed him for a moment and involved him in a slight error. I have since been informed, however, that he did secure one specimen of a harpoon with a copper foreshaft in Prince Albert Sound. As far as I am aware this is the only specimen that has ever been reported, except Mr. Cadzow's, which was certainly made for sale; all the older specimens of harpoons have antler foreshafts, and only a few of the more recent have them of iron or steel. [92] I am therefore inclined to regard Mr. Stefánsson's specimen as a very exceptional form due simply to the temporary lack of an antler; but I should be very glad to learn from Mr. Cadzow whether he knows of any other genuinely old specimen with a copper fore-shaft, or of any reference to such in the literature."

24: Jenness--92 (No date) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 411

"In conclusion I may take this opportunity to correct two small errors in the titles of illustrations to 'The Stefánsson-Anderson Arctic Expedition.'(1) Fig. 5 on p. 50 is described as a 'Pull for Cord used in hauling Seals.' Its shape and manner of ornamentation prove it to be the handle of a bow-case. Toggles used for hauling seals are illustrated in fig. 65 of the same volume. Again fig. 64b is described as a 'Knot-opener.' It may possibly be used for that purpose in an emergency, although the Eskimos generally use their teeth or one of the bone implements from the tool-bag such as are shown in fig. 39a. In reality it is an implement that was fastened to the bow-case and used for pinning through the wings of ptarmigan and other birds; hence its name, aqargiqsiun, i.e., 'ptarmigan tool.'"

"1. Mr. Stefánsson was absent in the Arctic when this book was published and was neither able to correct the MS. nor to select the illustrations. He cannot therefore be held responsible for these errors.